

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MADRID 01845 181817Z

44

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 105027

O 181730Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1337

S E C R E T MADRID 1845

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER ARIAS

1. I CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER ARIAS THIS MORNING ACCOMPANIED BY DCM. ALSO PRESENT WAS ANTONIO DE OYARZABAL, ARIAS' FOREIGN OFFICE AIDE. WE TALKED ABOUT 35 MINUTES ABOUT US-SPANISH RELATIONS; SPANISH-EUROPEAN RELATION; PORTUGAL (ABOUT WHICH ARIAS IS MUCH CONCERNED); AND, BRIEFLY, ARIAS' INTERNAL PROGRAM. ARIAS WAS VERY CORDIAL AND MADE CLEAR HIS OWN ATTACHMENT TO US-SPANISH RELATIONS AND HIS RECOGNITION FOR WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE FOR SPAIN.

2. I OPENED BY REFERRING TO THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY ATTACH TO CONTINUED CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES AND TO OUR COOPERATIVE DEFENSE EFFORTS WHICH I SAID WERE OF BENEFIT NOT ONLY TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES, BUT TO THE WEST AS A WHOLE. I ALSO EXTENDED THE PRESIDENT'S BEST WISHES TO THE PRIME MINISTER. I SAID THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WERE EXCELLENT AND THAT I HAD BEEN CHARGED WITH MAINTAINING AND FURTHERING THOSE RELATIONS.

3. ARIAS RESPONDED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH. AFTER WELCOMING ME, HE EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION WITH THE CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN AND UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT RELATIONSHIP ESPECIALLY NOW. RE-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MADRID 01845 181817Z

FERRING TO SPAIN AS, INDEED, PART OF EUROPE AND, THUS, AS

PART OF THE OVERALL WESTERN STRUCTURE, ARIAS SAID THAT WHILE HE COULD UNDERSTAND THE RELUCTANCE IN PAST YEARS OF OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO HAVE CLOSE RELATIONS WITH SPAIN, HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THIS CONTINUED RELUCTANCE IN VIEW OF THE EVOLUTION OF EVENTS. SPAIN WAS NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE AND IT WAS NECESSARY THAT THE EUROPE TO WHICH SPAIN BELONGED SHOULD TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE EFFORTS WHICH ARE BEING MADE IN THE SPAIN OF TODAY. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO DISCUSS THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION AT GREAT LENGTH AND EXPRESSED HIS DEEP CONCERN OVER WHAT WAS OCCURRING IN PORTUGAL SINCE "SPINOLA'S LAST INSANE ACT" PORTUGAL WAS A SERIOUS THREAT TO SPAIN NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE WAY THE SITUATION THERE WAS DEVELOPING, BUT BECAUSE OF FOREIGN SUPPORT IT MIGHT ULTIMATELY RECEIVE WHICH COULD BE HOSTILE TO SPAIN. HE EMPHASIZED THAT SPAIN WOULD ALWAYS BE ANTI-COMMUNIST NO MATTER WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES; ITS HISTORY ASSURED THAT. ADEQUATE PRECAUTIONS WERE BEING TAKEN TO PREVENT EVENTS IN PORTUGAL FROM SPILLING OVER THE SPANISH BORDER. SPAIN WOULD FIGHT THE ANTI-COMMUNIST BATTLE ALONE IF NECESSARY. IT WAS STRONG AND IT WAS PROSPEROUS. IT WOULD NOT BEG FOR HELP, BUT IT HOPED IT WOULD HAVE THE COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF ITS FRIENDS NOT ONLY IN THE SPANISH INTEREST, BUT IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THOSE WHO THOUGHT THE SAME. ARIAS SAID HE HOPED AND TRUSTED THAT I WOULD BE A CAREFUL OBSERVER AND AN ACCURATE INTERPRETER OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN SPAIN, BECAUSE IT WAS TRUE THAT SPAIN'S IMAGE ABROAD WAS SO OUT OF FOCUS.

4. I SAID I HAD INTENDED TO DISCUSS PORTUGAL WITH HIM IF HE HAD NOT DONE SO HIMSELF. THE UNITED STATES WAS ALSO VERY CONCERNED ABOUT EVENTS IN PORTUGAL AND IT APPEARED THAT THE SITUATION WAS MOVING TOWARD A MILITARY REGIME ON THE LEFT. AND "BY LEFT", I MEANT MOVING TOWARD INCREASED INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNISTS. I EXPLAINED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD EMBARKED ON AN AID PROGRAM DESIGNED TO HELP THE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN PORTUGAL. THE PRIME MINISTER COULD BE SURE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT PERMIT ITS AID TO GO TO ANY COMMUNIST GOVT OR ELEMENTS IN PORTUGAL. I ADDED THAT I AGREED WITH PRIME MINISTER

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MADRID 01845 181817Z

THAT THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL NOT ONLY REPRESENTED DANGERS FOR SPAIN, BUT ALSO RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ENTIRE STABILITY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA. POINTS OF TENSION EXISTED IN BOTH THE EASTERN AND WESTERN PARTS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND THESE WERE OPEN TO EXPLOITATION BY OUR COMMON ADVERSARIES. WHILE IT WAS TRUE WE WERE IN A PERIOD OF DETENTE, NONE OF US COULD AFFORD TO WEAKEN OUR DEFENSIVE STRUCTURES.

5. I THEN TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT HE COULD BE SURE THAT I WOULD INDEED ENDEAVOR TO BE AN ACCURATE INTERPRETER OF EVENTS IN SPAIN. I HOPED I WOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH HIM FROM TIME TO TIME TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. I THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT I HAD READ WITH MUCH INTEREST HIS SPEECH OF FEBRUARY 12 LAST YEAR AND WAS ALSO FAMILIAR WITH HIS OTHER STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS CONCERNING HIS PROGRAM.

6. ARIAS RESPONDED TO THIS OPENING BY SAYING HE WAS CONVINCED THAT SPAIN MUST BE DEMOCRATIZED AND MUST OPEN ITS POLITICAL PROCESS TO GREATER POPULAR PARTICIPATION. THE STRUCTURES WHICH WERE NECESSARY TO BRING SPAIN TO STABILITY AND PROSPERITY WERE NO LONGER ADAPTED TO THE PRESENT DAY. HOWEVER, THE SPINOLA EXPERIENCE HAD CONVINCED HIM OF ONE THING: THAT "ONE SHOULD NOT GO UP OR DOWN A HILL TOO FAST." HE FULLY INTENDED TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO CARRY OUT HIS ANNOUNCED PROGRAM IN THE REMAINING FOUR YEARS OF HIS TERM IN OFFICE. HE HOPED IT WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY COMPLETED BY THAT TIME, BUT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF RISKING CHAOS OR OF FALLING INTO TRAPS, AS HAD SPINOLA, BY MOVING TOO FAST. MOREOVER, SPAIN COULD IN NO WAY BE COMPARED TO PORTUGAL AND HE HAD GREAT CONFIDENCE IN THE STABILITY AND INTERNAL SECURITY OF SPAIN.

7. IN THANKING THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THIS EXPOSITION, I SAID I THOUGHT IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT THAT SPAIN MAKE ITS OWN FULL EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN TO THE WESTERN EUROPEANS WHAT SPAIN IS DOING TODAY IN THIS EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. AS HE KNEW, THE UNITED STATES HAD LONG FAVORED A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO AND OTHER EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS. WE SHOULD LIKE TO SEE SPAIN MORE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH NATO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MADRID 01845 181817Z

AND EUROPE, AND I BELIEVED THAT SPAIN COULD CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY TO THIS PROCESS IF IT COULD EFFECTIVELY CARRY THIS MESSAGE OF EVOLUTION TO THE OTHERS.

8. ARIAS CONCLUDED BY WISHING ME WELL AND BY SAYING HE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH ME PERIODICALLY. I SHOULD FEEL FREE TO COME TO HIM ON ANY GIVEN ISSUE IF IT COULD NOT BE OTHERWISE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. I THANKED HIM AND SAID I HOPED WE WOULD DEVELOP CLOSE AND FRIENDLY PERSONAL RELATIONS.

9. COMMENT: ARIAS WAS ON THE WHOLE RELAXED AND MOST CORDIAL. IT WAS VERY OBVIOUS THAT HE WAS DEEPLY TROUBLED BY EVENTS IN PORTUGAL AND HE SPOKE QUITE INTENSELY ON THE SUBJECT. IT WOULD SEEM CLEAR THAT PORTUGUESE EVENTS HAVE HAD A STRONG

NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE GENERAL NOTION OF POLITICAL
LIBERALIZATION. WHILE HE SEEMS TO BE COMMITTED TO LIBER-
ALIZATION, THE PROCESS WILL BE EVEN MORE UPHILL NOW THAT
IT WAS BEFORE. HE CONVEYED CLEARLY TO ME THE IMPORTANCE THAT
HE ATTACHES TO CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.
ALTHOUGH MY REFERENCES TO NATO PROVIDED AN OPENING FOR HIM TO
TALK ABOUT THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS IF HE SO CHOSE, HE DI NOT
MENTION THEM AND, INDEED, HE MIGHT NOT YET HAVE HAD A REPORT
FROM ROVIRA ON THE LAST ROUND IN WASHINGTON.

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ellisoob
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID01845
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750094-0408
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750341/aaaabkmc.tel
Line Count: 178
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ellisoob
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 JUN 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <28 OCT 2003 by ellisoob>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER ARIAS
TAGS: PFOR, SP, PO, US, (ARIAS NAVARRO, CARLOS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006